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pre-Christian. The clans of Nangalingali are: Naivotavota, Tanggu, Nanggora, Matai.

The Naivotavota and Tanggu are noble and descended from two brothers, Tanggu being descended from the eldest; but no one was made Tui Kambara. The ancestor of the two clans came from Uangava (Vuanggava). The third clan is "the Land"; the fourth, which is partly Tongan, is the carpenter's clan, and to it belong the Lemaki (p. 55).

There was much fighting between the villages of Nangalingali and Tokalau for the leadership in Christian times. The present Tui Kambara is of Tokalau.

Nukuloa in Vanua Levu is *tauvu* to Kambara on account of the ancestor-god. Kambara people at one time went to plant in Lakemba. On account of the ladies the people of Kambara used to go to Tanggalevu so in course of time Tanggalevu were made envoys to Kambara. Kambara is also connected with Totoya. There is a strong connection with Tonga because the Tongans formerly built canoes in Kambara.

Komo and Namuka are colonies of Kambara. Komo, a noble land before the inhabitants were killed off by Kambara and Totoya, now has only one village. It was settled from Kambara in fairly recent times. The clans are: Tuvana, Nukusea, Folo, Nasau.

Namuka has only one village, a large one, which was peopled from Nangalingali. Its clans are: Toiovu, Mbautolu, Nawatia, Taliku, Nasau, Nanggalitoka, Sawa. The first Tui Namuka dates from Christian times. Namuka and Matuku are closely related. Namuka goes to Nukunuku in Lakemba.

In Namuka the water is so scarce that in times of drought it is brought from neighboring islands.

### FULANGA AND ITS DEPENDENCIES

Fulanga (Vulanga) is an exceedingly low-born land. Formerly when its people went to Kambara, Mothe, or Lakemba, they walked stooping with folded arms. The island constantly suffers from scarcity. The people are great fishermen and excel with the fish spear. Their hair is said to be fair as a result of their constant diving, but I have seen only one fair haired individual from this island. (See Pl. I, *H.*) Fulanga and Ketei in Totoya are *tauvu*. Ongea, Ono, Mothe, and Oneata are dependencies of Fulanga. Regarding these I have received the following from informants:

Ongea was once a noble (*turanga*) land. Its pennant was hoisted in some peculiar position aloft, whereas Fulanga flew its flag below. The old men of the island used to be known as "the holy elders" (*matua tambu*). When Tui Ongea was on board a

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fathoms. Some were made of *yasa kiki*, a thing like a fan adorned with bark cloth and hala and tied to a long coir string. These pennants are now called *kuila*, but it is not known where the word comes from; the Fijian is *tawake*. In Lakemba and Ongea the pennant is tied high up the mast; in other places, lower down; but no canoes were allowed to come into Lakemba with pennant flying except those of a nobleman or a great sister's son (*vasu*) (p. 40).

If a canoe belonging to commoners came in they lowered the sail outside the passage and paddled in. Otherwise they would be beaten. On arriving opposite the landing place commoners sang out, "*O oa.*" If a whole fleet were coming, the commoners would wait till all arrived and come in together, salute, beach their canoes, and go to Big House to report. It was forbidden to pass on the outrigger side, that is to the windward, of a nobleman, because the nobleman's canoe would be lower. If a canoe coming in were to pass on the outrigger side of a nobleman's canoe which was just about to leave, the commoners would land and bring a whale's tooth as a supplication because it was unbecoming towards a nobleman. In such a circumstance they need not be introduced by a herald.

If a canoe is wrecked and the crew reach land the people of that island make a feast for them and give them clothes. The crew go home and prepare mats and sheets of bark cloth and some time or other bring them to the chief of the island.

If a shipwrecked man lands in safety, his people hold a feast called *i mburua mbula*, a "living death-feast."

## FISHING

### Net Fishing

Fish are most abundant round the north coast from Waitambu to Nasangalau, because the reef is farther out and mangrove trees are plentiful there.

The *nungga* is the choicest fish, yet the *sangga* is the fish for nobles, probably because of its great size. The head of the fish is given to the chief. Some fish are poisonous at certain times of the year.

Cetaceans, classed as fish, are not eaten. One kind of porpoise which comes up vertically, is said to be chief (*turanga*) among porpoises. Turtle is also classed as fish.

The word *nggoli*, though a general term for fishing, applies more particularly to fishing with nets.

The usual method of fishing is by driving into nets The women blacken their faces with soot or powder them with turmeric as a protection

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against the glare and set out with a big rectangular net provided with floats at the top and weights below. The net is put down with a curve facing the land. Some of the women, aided by any men in the party drive in the fish. The women at the net pick the fish out of the meshes, bite the heads, and put the fish in their baskets.

A variation of this method of fishing is called hauling (*yavi*): the net is put down in a semicircle with its ends resting on the beach, and is then drawn in. I believe this is done only at high tide. There must be no coral about. Special large nets called hauling nets are used; they are modern and made with European fish line.

Native informants say:

It is bad to go to a grave before fishing, or the fish will go up to the net and turn back because the souls of the dead want to fish; for going to the grave has a supernatural effect (*manata*); the souls follow the one who went to the grave.

"Raw eyes" drive away fish. To remove the effects of it before going into the water, nets are held as they are in the sea and whipped lightly on one side, then on the other several times with leaves of *sinu;* then the leaves are thrown into the net, it is raised and drawn in as is done at sea when fish have been caught. The operation *sinumi* is then repeated in the water, with the words:

Sinu matumatu, sinu nggitawa,
sinu vai [naming all kinds of fish]
sinu ika tauthoko sa rawa i na mba
lako mai i manda, lako mai i muri,
lako mai loma, lako mai sau, lako mai
tauthoko mai thoka i ei.

Sinu . . . . . .
sinu of all fish that are caught in the fence,
come before, come behind, come inside, come
outside, come all of you and strike here.

Then the leaves are thrown away and care is taken not to raise the net as was done on shore. It is forbidden, while fishing, to point at the fish. The biggest *sangga* and the best fish are taken to the Roko Sau.

## Yavi Rau

An entire village joins in the *yavi rau* (hauling in coconut leaves). In this the fish are brought to shore as with the large nets, but for the net a long rope of *walai,* as much as a half mile in length is substituted. The sides of the midribs of coconut leaves are stripped off with the folioles adhering and are wound spirally round this rope with the folioles sticking out like spikes. At high tide this rope is put in the water to form a vast circle. As the tide lowers, the men draw the circle tighter and tighter towards the shore leaving an opening on the land side which the women close with a net bag-shaped (*volu*). Outside the circle, the women stand with small nets to catch the fish that try to escape. The men close in upon the fish, which circle round and round and are driven into the net. When the net is full, it is folded over, and sticks are thrust through it to lift it up and put it into a canoe. It is opened in front of Big House, or if the Chief

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so decides, on the beach. Many fish which escape into the coral are pulled out.

In olden times a noble youth was appointed master of the fishing (*turanga ni nggoli*). He went around in a canoe striking any one who disobeyed.

## Mullet Fishing

Mullet is here used to designate the fish called *kanathe*. Fishing for mullet (*thuka*) is done with a bag-shaped net mounted on two sticks.

Mullet fishing is usually said to belong to Tanggalevu [17] but precisely it belongs more to Semi of Tumbou who is the head of the senior branch of Tanggalevu and to Ratu Meli of Naivi whose mother was of Tanggalevu.

A man of Waitambu had two daughters: one married into Wathiwathi; the other, called Ndranindongo, came to Tumbou as the wife of a man of Nandomole in Thekena. The people of Waitambu gave her mullet-fishing saying, "Let it be for your soup (*su*) in your house." With it they gave a gulley (*soso*) in Waitambu as dowry (*i kau*). Either she or a female descendant of hers gave the leading position on the seaward side to a daughter of hers who married into Tuware. Both the fishing and the gulley are still the property of the descendants of Ndranindongo. Formerly if any one besides the owners fished mullet there was trouble. If High Chief wishes mullet to be fished, he must ask Semi. If any one is building a house and desires to have mullets for a feast he offers up kava to Semi that he may instruct the women of Tumbou quarter to catch mullet. Semi then informs the women and they hold a council to decide matters and determine the place of each. All the women who are uterine descendants (*kete yani*) from Tumbou may take part. The women go out in two files, two to a net. The first two places are the "eyes" or "face of the fishing" (*mata ni nggoli*); these places have fixed owners as Semi decides: the one toward the sea belongs to Semi's wife and daughter (Semi belongs to Tuware as well as Tanggalevu), the other belongs to the Vaka's wife or some other woman of Nandomole. The other places are decided by "appropriating the fishing" (*usu nggoli*), which is done in this way: after some discussion they suddenly begin calling in quick succession: "I stand behind X"; "I stand next." And so on they scramble for positions, and are placed in the order in which they spoke. As for the ladies of Tai who are not connected with Tumbou, they merely await the decision of the others. Between any two pairs from Tumbou there is an interval in which the nobles are placed; each woman of Tumbou decides which ladies from Tai and how many will stand between her and the next Tumbou net. The position next to the "eyes of the fishing" is fixed; it is called "following the fishing" (*muri nggoli*) and is given to Big House. The last woman of Tumbou is the "limit of the fishing" (*i yalayala ni nggoli*); after that the rest follow in any order, and are known as "the bottom of the fishing" (*mboto ni nggoli*).

The two files advance in the sea looking for a shoal of mullets. If they see one the leader on the seaward side says "Do you see fish?"

The other answers, "I see."

They then start running and all the women know there is a shoal. The two leaders come together and so come the last two thus forming a complete circle round the fish. The leader says, "*Koso*" (cut off) or "Cross," and those who stand at "the limit" on either side run across to join, thus dividing the circle in two. If both circles contain plenty of fish the leader again cries "*Koso*," and each circle again divides in two. The fish try to escape by leaping, but strike against the upper part of the net

[17] Of old, all things were owned (*vaka i tauka*).

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which projects high above the water and fall into the bag below. When they have secured the fish they begin again, and so on till the leader is satisfied.

After the fishing each lady of Tai presents a mullet to the Tumbou woman in whose interval she was. If a lady of Tumbou goes down for the first time she makes a feast called *ola* for Tumbou at any time after her first fishing. In return she gets all the fish caught at the next fishing.

Until the time when the people left the Old Village, the ladies of Tai used to give the twine to the women of Tumbou to make into nets; but the Tumbou ladies were in the habit of keeping some of the twine for themselves, so the women of Tai learned the art.

Mullet fishing also has its tapu:

It is forbidden to tread on one another's toes before going out fishing or the person trodden on catches nothing.

The net is whipped with *sinu* like an ordinary net only it is done in silence because it is clear for what fish it is meant.

While fishing it is forbidden to touch one another or let the sticks touch one another; for two to eat out of the same basket; to spear or hit the mullet.

The scarcity of mullet in my time was ascribed to ill feeling between the owners of the fishing over the question who should control it. As long as the Tumbu people got on well together they caught plenty.

I could discover no spirit of mullet fishing. In Waitambu it was definitely said the fishing had no spirits (*tevoro*), it merely originated in Waitambu.

The other villages do not fish mullet, not that it is forbidden to them, but they do not know how and have no nets. Besides, mullet only comes close to land between Waitambu and Tumbou.

## Fish Fences

Fish fences made of reeds are set up across the tracks which the fish follow when they retire with the tide. These tracks are known to experts.

The plan of the fence, which varies somewhat according to the lay of the land, is roughly that of a crescent. The two wings must rest on flats that are dry, or nearly so, at low tide. The central part is doubled and the inner fence has an opening in the middle. At each of the corridors between the inner and the outer fence is a chamber with an opening so narrow that a man can barely squeeze through, this entrance is wider at the top than at the bottom, so that the lower the tide, the narrower the opening; it is closed by flaps so arranged that the fish can push their way in but not out. At low tide the owners come to collect the fish. After making sure there is no shark or sting ray present, they enter and spear or stab the fish.

These fences have to be shifted from time to time as the fish cease to come. They are not much used in Lakemba, as they are not very productive on the Tumbou side, fifty being a good catch as against hundreds in Viti Levu. In fact, it was I who revived this method.

In Waitambu there are "fish fence waters" which are proprietary. If a man sets up a fish fence he asks his wives and sisters to supply provisions

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for a race. Excepting the winner's prize, the things go to the craftsman who built the fence. The wives and sisters get the first batch of fish caught in the fence. 226

## Line Fishing

Line fishing is indulged in by the men. Hermit crabs and *kaiki* crabs and small fish are used as bait.

Shark fishing is Tongan and is rarely practised nowadays. A bait is thrown overboard to attract the shark, to a Tongan song: *"Wili mai, wili mai, wili mai, malie"* (Come, come, come, well done). When the shark's fin appears the fishermen say, *"Ma anu* [bis] *ko'eku pele koe* [bis]" (Rise; you are my friend). The shark rises and the whole fin becomes visible. As he approaches to take the bait he is noosed and hauled aboard.

Young sharks are said to be born blind.

There is a kind of *sinu* plant called shark's *sinu*. It is the shark's bud; when the shark is born the *sinu* buds; it is closed so that the shark does not see at birth and is called *mbulumbulu* (closed-eyes). When the bud bursts the eyes of the young shark begin to see in the water. [825 824]

Octopus is caught on a line with a sinker, a Tongan method, no longer used. The sinker is a rounded cone, cut probably from a stalactite. A cowry is tied on the stone, a tail is made from a root of a coconut palm. This stone is trailed behind a canoe in which the fishermen paddle as fast as they can, jerking the line and singing, *"Lele feke, puli le feke"* (Run octopus, cowry octopus). The octopus mistakes the stone for a rat, and fastens onto it.

The enmity of the octopus for the rat is explained by the following tale:

The rat was once being conveyed across the sea by an octopus. As soon as the land was near the rat dropped dung on the head of the octopus and swam off. Since then the octopus hates the rat and always goes for it. The black stuff ejected by the octopus is the rat's dung. This is an ancient tale, a thing from the beginning. [539]

## Fish Spearing

Fish spearing is also the work of the men. It is not practised much, at least on the south coast. The Fulanga men are the most skillful. The spears usually have three or four diverging prongs.

Sometimes parties go out to a deep pool surrounded by flats on which there are only a few inches of water at low tide and there gather a kind of black sea slug (*loli*), put them in baskets, mix with sand, and stir and rub them till the blood oozes out. They are then thrown into the hole. Then each man takes his stand on a stone and guards one of the channels. 226 228

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The fish presently come forth to escape the poison, but being already intoxicated they move slowly. Thus they are easily speared.

Men sometimes go out with torches at low tide and hack the fish they find sleeping in the shallow waters. It is believed that a shark missed by a spear cannot be caught as he grows angry and his body becomes so hard that the spear rebounds no matter how sharp it be.

### Crab Hunting

The land crab (*lairo*) is very common. It is caught and eaten whenever found, but at one time of the year it is hunted and drawn out of the holes. The crabs found in the village are not eaten because they feed on rubbish.

The coconut crab is common about Tarukua. Prawns are caught with nets by the women.

### Bagging Palolo

The palolo (*mbalolo*) is a worm that lives in the sea but makes its appearance usually only once a year, sometimes twice a year, in November or December before dawn. When it does appear it swarms in such quantities in the passages that it can be scooped out with tins and mugs. This lasts an hour or so, then they disappear.

The following is compiled from information received from several individuals:

In Lakemba the coming of the palolo is confined to the passages off Tumbou. It is also bagged in Naiau and some of the Southern Islands.

In olden days people knew the time of swarming by watching the sun: if it set half way up the hill of Vanua Vatu it was the time for bagging palolo. A few palolo appear the morning before the great day, and are called "the head of the palolo." It used to be the duty of Katumbalevu proper to go and watch for it. When they had caught some they brought it to the Tui Naiau, who then had it proclaimed in the village, "The head of the palolo is drifting." Then they all prepared nets like tennis rackets.

The night of the palolo there is always a squall known as the procrastinator of the palolo because the foolish think it will be cold out fishing, and so lie down and sleep; but the wise sit up and when they go out before the dawn the sky is clear, without a single black cloud. They go out in crowds and set to work as soon as the palolo begins to swarm, for there is no time to lose. As soon as the sun rises the swarm dissolves. The people go home and immediately make an oven. Till that time the weather has remained fine, but the moment the oven is buried clouds gather and it pours. This rain is called "the extinguisher of the embers." As soon as the oven is cooked they carry some off to the country villages; each man goes to his kinsmen in the country.

"It is the feast that we make for the country folk."

In return the country folk make a feast to take to those who bring the palolo; they make the feast in good style, using their biggest taro; this is the only occasion that will draw from the Yandrana people the large taro which they call Won't-go-to-Tumbou, because they never send it in feasts to Tumbou.

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If the palolo is taken to the country villages a day or two after the catch the country folk say, "It is the palolo of an after-thought," because not knowing whither to take their surplus, the Tumbou people have at last thought of some one on whom to get rid of it; it is therefore a mean dodge to get a feast in return. The phrase has passed into a proverb.

The people of Tumbou proper and of Levuka sometimes bring palolo to the nobles who take it out of the baskets and fill them full of taro and other food.

Formerly palolo was the occasion of a great festival: people put on new loin cloths and skirts. Then there was much palolo; there is not much now.

There is not much fish at the approach of the palolo. The old folk used to say, "The palolo covers the eyes of the fish."

Various villages have some fish or other that swarms at certain seasons and is "bagged" or otherwise caught, and which they call their palolo. The "palolo" of Nukunuku is the *nungga;* of Wathiwathi, the *lairo* crab. In Nasangalau sharks are bagged in the Palolo months. For one month before that it is forbidden to kill sharks. A woman of the clan of Ndreketi knows all about them. She keeps watch as the month of palolo approaches; if she sees signs she calls all the people; then they all go forth with big meshed nets, and sit on the rocks and watch the passage. As the tide begins to flow the sharks come. One or two lie about; as the tide rises their numbers increase. The people prepare to bag them. The woman of Ndreketi stands on a rock. The sharks line up, forty odd big sharks. The net is let down to close the passage; those who are to bag the sharks are to the seaward of them. The woman cries, "To land, to land, that the strangers may see." The sharks come in a bit. "Up with the fin that the strangers may see." The fin is raised. "Let down the fin; the strangers are afraid." The fin disappears. "They are moving towards the land; my calling is finished."

The fish is then bagged. The woman can even cause the fish to get stranded.

In 1909 it did not take place because some one had speared a shark prematurely. These sharks are black and not like other sharks; the taste is not the same. Formerly there was a chief of the sharks, a small white shark. One shark is always taken to Roko Sau.

The *nungga* is bagged in December and in January. It is caught at morning ebb (*mati ruku*) just as the tide is beginning to flow. The *nungga* then follow up the channels towards the land in great quantities and are caught with ordinary nets. The first time it has all to be eaten in Nukunuku; it cannot be taken to another village or it will disappear for good; if a nobleman of Tumbou wants to eat he must come to Nukunuku. The second time it is different. It is supposed it has something to do with spirits (*ka vakatevoro no*).

## Turtle Fishing

Turtle is not uncommon. There is a small kind called *mata iri* (fan face) which is like the herald, or retinue of the big turtles. It goes in front of a big turtle: it comes close to the land while the big one is further out at sea. If any one comes near, the small one starts and the big one flies. The following account has been received:

In former days no turtle was cooked outside Tumbou; all that was caught from Ono to Thithia had to come to Tumbou, to Tui Naiau who had it cooked, and sent some of it to whomsoever he pleased. It was strictly forbidden for anyone to eat turtle unless Tui Naiau "gave him the turtle knife." The privilege of eating turtle at will was granted by Roko Taliai to Tione Wesile and his descendants on account of his prowess in destroying the Naivi faction. If Tione Wesile caught only one turtle he would bring it to Tui Naiau; if several he could keep the rest for himself; but if

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Naivi or Vatuwangga catch any it has to be cooked at Big House and from there it is distributed among the nobles.

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Turtles are caught on land in the breeding season when they come to lay eggs in the sand at night. The experts go over to a small island, such as Vanua Masi, and watch at night. They tell the time when a turtle will come ashore, not, as in the Solomon Islands by the condition of the previous batch of eggs, but by the moon, which must be full. A Moala man says that whenever he watches for turtle a spirit (*timoni*) appears if there is any turtle; he sees a light; if he is not afraid there is no turtle, but if fear seizes him there is. A Tongan says that in Vanua Masi there are two cairns like truncated cones with the tops beautifully level. These cairns are solid, six feet high by eighteen inches broad. From these cairns comes a sound like a whistle, once if there is one turtle, twice if two. There is also a spring there called *rauvau mavi* because water may only be drawn with the left arm.

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Turtle is also fished with big nets made of coir rope; the meshes are very large. The net is taken out in a canoe at night and extended in the water wherever they expect to find turtle. The turtle is then driven into the net. The chief fisherman is called *ndau*. These parties go out at the bidding of Roko Sau when some great festival or undertaking is forward. Turtle fishing is a very expensive thing for the chief, because every stage involves gifts. First when the canoe with its freight of turtle comes along the fishermen on board sing as they punt and blow the conch. The people in the village know, and inform the chief; they make preparations; the gifts are set apart with whale's teeth and kava; the feast is made ready, the expecting feast (*kena i waraki*). The conveyers of the turtle are coming; the song of victory runs:

[539]

| | |
|---|---|
| Au sa mate e na liliwa; | I am perished with cold; |
| Tu me kei thei a tinatina? | For whom is the sow? |

The meaning is they are cold and expect to have pig as a relish. A variant is:

[539]

| | |
|---|---|
| Au sa mate e na ndolo; | I am dead with swimming; |
| Tu me kei thei a vakalolo? | For whom is the pudding? |

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Thus the fishermen sing what they desire that it may not be refused; they shout (*thimbi*) and stamp on the canoe. They land and tie a rope to each flipper to drag the turtle on its back to Big House. As they drag they shout: *"Vonu e tapate."* The turtle is then offered up in the usual style. That rope by which it was tied involves a gift for unloosening the rope (*i sere ni ndali*); it is presented on behalf of Roko Sau together with other whale's teeth "for piercing the eye" (*i thula ni mata*, a term which cannot be explained) and with kava as an "earnest" (*i sevuseva*). The fishermen then proceed to drink kava; when the feast is cooked and brought, the things they sang about form part of the feast; besides which the men go and eat food in the plantations without leave, and they root up kava; for turtle fishing is somewhat of a noble custom (*ka vakaturanga no*); it is an occasion for some measure of disorder.

Turtles are kept in small circle enclosures (*mbi*) made of stout sticks stuck in the sand below high water mark, until there is enough for a feast; it may be three months. The making of this enclosure involves gifts called *i viri ni mbi*. The enclosure is first made large enough for two or three turtles; if more are caught it means more gifts for the fisherman. There is one presentation called the breaking of the enclosure (*i mbasu ni mbi*). Many things the fishermen do to increase the gifts.

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The green fat of the turtles is wrapped in leaves and baked; it is a choice bit.

## Yawa Fishing in Mavana

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In Mavana is a pond in which there is a fish called *yawa*, flat and as much as a cubit long. One name of the pond is "the *Dracaena* oven" (*lovo ninggai*).

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Once upon a time the god of Lauthala (some say the two Matangi Women) went from Lauthala to Tonga and there found a fish called *yawa* which the god (*tupua*) in Tonga fed. This fish lives in marshy places and eats mud. The god of Lauthala stole it because the people refused them when he asked for them. He wrapped one male and one female in a leaf of taro and came away. "So you refused me the fish," said he, "I shall carry it off to Lauthala." He was delighted. He landed in Vanua Mbalavu towards Mavana. The old woman of Mavana said, "What have you got wrapped up there, my lord of Lauthala?"

Said he, "Drinking water."

Said she, "Let me drink, please."

He refused, "No, you shall not drink." She broke off a *Dracaena* stem, and struck the leaf, and tore it so that the two fishes fell and the water was spilt. He grasped the leaf, but only held mud, and departed. When he poured it out in Lauthala there was only mud, no water or fish. "Alack!" he said, "the two fishes I had wrapped up have fallen out." Now therefore Lauthala is all mud, but the *yawa* is in Mavana; it is their netting fish (*ika tanga*).

The following account regarding fishing tapu has been given:

There are owners of the fish, namely the heralds. Eroni Mbotei is their elder: he is the priest of the goddess (*alewa tevoro*). People cannot catch fish without his consent. They net the fish every three years [one informant says four]. They call the fishing *uli*, that is to stir. They may not stir without leave. The people of Mavana offer up kava to Eroni saying, "Here is kava. It is our wish that the *yawa* be stirred this year for our Christmas feast."

He says, "It is well." Then they tell it in the village, but secretly so that the other villages may not know. Then on the appointed day they go to the *yawa* pond. The names of all the houses (*yavu ni vale*) are found on the banks of the water; here they build huts with coconut leaves. The women plait leaves of *Dracaena* (*tombe fi*); no other leaf is allowed because the old woman used the stalk of a *Dracaena*. After two nights in the evening Eroni says, "Jump into the water." They jump in and stir up the mud only a little, lest the fish die in the night; before nightfall they come out again. At dawn they again jump in. At eight o'clock Eroni comes out of the hut and cries, "The ship from Tonga has arrived" (*Sa uru a twangga mai tooonga*). Then the fish jump about; they strive after clean water. Then the Mavanans spear the fish with a pointed stick with a tail of coir. The first few are set down as a sacrifice (*i singana*) to Erone. Then they start spearing fish as they like. All the other fish in the pond die to keep the *yawa* company (*me i loloku*). If Eroni is angry, and the *yawa* are short of breath he goes and looks at the pond, and all the fish disappear. One part of the bank is called Korolevu; if any one fails to spear a fish he is said to come out at Korolevu. Then the oven is prepared. The village headman sets aside twenty or so for the Tui Mavana. When they are brought to Nasima Sau, the Tui Mavana makes gifts which is called "the piercing of the fish's eye" (*a thula ni mata ni ika*), and the people of Mavana make a portion for each man. When the fish is cooked they return to the village. Each one takes in a gift called *vakavura*, "causing to appear," to his relations in all the villages as far as Lomaloma; the relations make them gifts.

## BUILDING

### The House

The structure of the house is illustrated in figures 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8 and Plate III, *A*, *B*. I will mention here only the details that are not apparent.

The rafters and reepers consist of laths of coconut palms taken from the outer surface with the bark. They are placed with the inner side under-

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TOKALAU

Tokalau village on Kambara is composed of three clans. They are, according to rank: Vuanikathu and Vuanitavola of the chiefs' phratry, and Katoka of the land phratry. Vuanikathu, a warrior clan, has three subclans: Turanga, Mbete, and Naitathini. The last active chief of Kambara, Timothe Thakau, belonged to Turanga. Tchosaia Tchiani, his son, is called chief of Kambara, but he has not been installed. He traces his pedigree to Ndaunisai (table 2, f. p. 38). Recently the Vuanikathu clan was the highest in rank on Kambara but its influence is declining. It has lost its grip on life since the power of the chief of Kambara, who belongs to the group, has been undermined by the colonial government. The chief believes his misfortune is due to sorcery.

The headman of the Mbete subclan was formerly the chief priest on Kambara. He holds the hereditary clan titles of priest (*mbete*) and of envoy to Lakemba (*mata ki Lakemba*). The Mbete pedigree extends back ten generations to Leka and Mbalavu.

In 1929 the Mbete group declared itself independent of Vuanikathu, that it might have a separate share of the village feast. It still functions as a subclan in many respects and has been so classified.

A boy of ten is the only remaining male in Naitathini. When he is old enough to work the land, he will take over the duties and property of Naitathini subclan. Meanwhile he has been adopted into the clan of his mother. It is the duty of a man from Naitathini to make a formal request to the master fisherman when the village plans a communal fishing expedition. While the boy is a minor the request is made by the chief of crops.

A ceremonial name of Vuanikathu is Vatu Soro. This was the name of the foundation mound (*yavu*) of the chief's house in the old fortresses, Nakorovusa and Ndelaioloi. A group of stones south of the Ndelaioloi site is called Vatu Soro. Vuanikathu is related to the Thekena clan of Tumbou, Lakemba.

The Vuanitavola clan is composed of two subclans; Vunipipi and Matandravu. Vunipipi holds the hereditary clan title of master fisherman (*ndau ni nggoli*). Manoa, the great-grandfather of the present clan headman, held the title of chief of Kambara at the time when Christianity was introduced to Kambara (p. 39). Tchosaia says that Vuanitavola and Vuanikathu were formerly one clan. According to him the division occurred as follows:

> Tuitonga of Vuanikathu had two sons, Tuisamoa and Rambarawa. They quarreled and split the clan. The descendants of Tuisamoa, the first-born, remained Vuanikathu, and the descendants of Rambarawa became Vuanitavola. This divided Mburotu, the clan garden land, into two parts: Mburotu, which belonged to the Tuisamoa branch, and Singa Yandrena, which belonged to the Rambarawa branch.

An important intermarriage between the two clans took place when Thakauniwere, the first-born of the Vuanikathu line and great-grandfather

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by the *takala* which I have called chief's administrator. He is also of the land group. Informants say that the title of herald came with the Tongans, while that of the *takala* is old. The *takala* assists in the presentation and division of the tribute of first fruits. The title of *takala* is absent on Kambara and Namuka, but the titles of *takala* and herald are both found on Fulanga.

The title of *vaka vanua* (*vaka*), which I have called chief of crops, is found on every island. It is held by a clan of the land phratry. The chief of crops has charge of ceremonial presentations to the chief. These are usually in the form of feasts. He organizes all the large island feasts, informs each village of the amount of food it must contribute and prepare, and on the day of the feast receives and inspects the share of each village on the ceremonial ground of the chief's village. He divides the feast into two parts: the chief's share (*mangitchi ni vanua*), and the people's share (*lutu ni mangitchi*); and he presents the chief's share to the chief. If the high chief from Lakemba or his representative is present, the envoy to Lakemba makes the ceremonial presentation. The chief of crops is custodian of the fruits of the land. He has charge of the resources of the island for the offering of first fruits, garden produce, and fish, which is made to the chief of the island at the time of the ripening of each tribute crop or at the tribute fish season. It is his duty to place and remove the tabu on fruits, to arrange for their collection, and with the help of the chief's administrator to make the presentation to the chief. If pigs are needed by the chief he hangs a piece of charred wood from the earth oven outside the door of the chief's house. Then he calls, "Tambu puaka, yei!" (Tabu pigs, yei!) No pigs may be killed until the chief of crops sets a day for the presentation of pigs to the chief. The tabu conserves the food supply, since it prevents the crop from being eaten before it has reached maturity and its highest food value. On islands where food is scarce, such a check is important.

On some islands the duties of the chief of crops are performed by the chief's administrator and conversely. For instance, on Mothe the chief of crops has charge of the fruit crops on the south side of the island, whereas the chief's administrator has charge on the north. The chief's administrator makes the ceremonial presentation to the chief. On Mothe the chief of crops is the chief's assistant and spokesman. At times the duties of the chief of crops and chief's administrator overlap. On Fulanga both assist the master fisherman in communal net fishing. Either the chief of crops or the chief's administrator may cast the first spear. As a rule the younger of the two men gives precedence to the older.

The professional title of master fisherman (*nd·u ni nggoli*) is held by a clan on each island. The master fisherman is in charge of the communal fishing and turtle fishing and is responsible for the protection of the fishing grounds. When fish are desired for a feast, permission for the communal

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624 fishing must be obtained from the master fisherman. The request is accom-
226 panied by the ceremonial presentation of kava and is made by representatives from one or more specific clans. The master fisherman receives part of the catch, usually the two largest fish, unless these are tribute fish which must be presented to the chief. The wife or the daughter of the master fisherman leads women's communal fishing expeditions. In recent years the authority of the master fisherman has been breaking down. There is less organized fishing than there was in the past.

624 The professional title of carpenter (*matai*) is held by the headmen of
335 hereditary carpenter clans belonging to either the chief's carpenters or the *lemaki* carpenters.

The following is a tale told of the *lemaki* carpenters:

> The son of the first Lemaki in Lau accompanied Niumataiwalu, the chief of Lakemba, to Ono. One day the people of Ono decided to kill the chief. Lemaki went fishing with the throw net (*tuka*) reputed to have been introduced into Lau by Lemaki. He had a small adz with him for killing large fish. He saw the people running after the chief, so he fought his way to the chief and tried to protect him. The Ono people killed the son of Lemaki and afterward they killed Niumataiwalu. To compensate for this deed the *lemaki* carpenter group was given special privileges and a piece of land called Lekutu (Bush) near Tumbou, Lakemba.

The headman of the *lemaki* carpenter clan does not use the special chiefly vocabulary (p. 64) or the chiefly greeting (*tama*) to the chief. He may intercede (*sorovakina*) with the chief on behalf of a village or an individual, and he may eat food and drink kava in the presence of the chief.

624 Each island chief has a priest. Formerly, as mediator for the clan and its
793 ancestral forefathers and as a seer, the priest served to validate and sanctify the power of the chief. The priest was highly respected and feared. He received a large share of the first fruit offerings, which were presented to the ancestor god (*kalou vu*). The headman of a priest clan usually holds the title of *mbete*. This is largely honorary today, except on Mothe where the priest installs the chief.

624 The *mata ki Lakemba* (face toward Lakemba, envoy to Lakemba) is a
644 hereditary clan title found in every island group. He is the intermedial agent for the island group and the high chief at Lakemba. His duties are to deliver and present tribute to the high chief and to receive him or his representatives when they visit the island. In the latter capacity he is the leader of the reception and presentation ceremonies. The title descends from a man to his younger brother or to his son—except on Mothe, where it is hereditary in the Nggali clan—and the bearer is chosen by the clan elders.

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622 Some villages have a village chief. The chief of Nggalinggali is chosen from either Nanggara or Naivotavota clan. The present chief of Nggalinggali is from Nanggara. The title of chief of Tokalau was, until recently, held by the Matandravu subclan of the Vuanitavola clan. Tareasi Thiva was the last

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The offering of fish is not an annual ceremony but is held on special occasions as at the installation of a chief or the death of a high ranking person. The master fisherman sets the days and leads the communal fishing expedition. Standing on the reef, he holds one end of the net, while the chief of crops carries the other end to another part of the reef. No one except the master fishermen and the chief of crops is permitted to speak, and if any man throws his spear before the command of the master fisherman or chief of crops he is disgraced and his spear is broken.

The catch is piled before the chief of Fulanga. The chief of crops sits on one side of the pile, the master fisherman, who is also the herald, on the other.

Herald: "Sa vinaka me vakathombo na ika vei Tui Fulanga" (You may proceed with the presentation of the fish to the chief of Fulanga).

Chief of crops claps three times. "I...a..." (Yes). Pause. "Tui Fulanga ika ni rau sa tu. Sa thambe tu mai veta tu nggoli. O mai ika sau sa tu. Sa mai vakathombo veikemu na Tui Fulanga. A mbalambalavu tu kena vosa a sosora ki vakaturanga ka vu...ra." (To the chief of Fulanga: Sir, lying before you are the fish caught when we fished today. They are the fish for the chief. These are presented to the chief of Fullanga. I have spoken at length on this and this is all, Sir).

Chief of Fulanga: claps three times "A...u, a...u, u...lia, thika manda ya au mundou tu kuku ndau. A rawa tchiko manda ya veta totoli" (I gratefully accept the fish presented by you, my fishermen. May your fishing expeditions be successful for years to come).

Then all the people clap three times and the chief orders that the catch be shared among the people. The chief of crops and the herald distribute the fish, the largest, the *sangga* and the *ndonu*, to the chief. The remainder of the catch is placed in rows according to size and from each row one fish is taken for each clan in the following order: Vunikoro, Rasea, Nasava, Sau, Vandravandra. The master fisherman's clan, Vandravandra, receives the same share as the others; but later the chief's clan, Vunikoro, presents property and kava to the master fisherman.

Turtle, *sangga*, *ndonu*, and *ndaungava*, caught at any time of the year, must be presented to the chief of Fulanga and may be eaten by the people only if the chief gives permission.

Natives say that a fish offering is occasionally presented to the high chief at Lakemba as a form of tribute. When a large catch is made on the island the men hold a meeting at which the chief of Fulanga presides. If an offering to Lakemba is decided upon, baskets of fish are loaded onto canoes and taken to Lakemba about 60 miles to the north. The sailors go to the high chief's house in Tumbou and announce their arrival. They then unload the canoes and carry the fish to the envoy to Fulanga of the Vatuwangga clan. He divides the offering into three parts: one for the high chief, one for the chief's household, and one for himself. The shares for the chief and his household are taken to the ceremonial ground in front of the chief's house and presented

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226 796 ceremonially. The envoy to Fulanga and the high chief then give a feast (*i nggaravi*) to the sailors.

241 796 In the bush near the village of Naivindamu, Fulanga, a *mbau* tree, which belongs to Lingau clan, is fenced with a stone wall and called *mbau ni sevu*. The fruit of the tree is tabu to all but members of the Lingau clan.

On Ongea the main offerings of first fruits are held annually for the mangrove (*Rhizophora mucronata*) and the *yangai*. The *yangai* is ripe in June and July. The offerings are presented to the chief of Ongea. Formerly every turtle caught was also presented to him, but today this custom is not regularly observed.

On Kambara in olden days the offering of *ndawa*, Tahitian chestnuts, and breadfruit was presented to the chief of Kambara. All turtles caught were presented to him also. Today first fruit offerings are presented only when the crop is particularly good. The chief of crops sets and lifts the tabu. In April, while I was on the island, an offering of sweet yams was made in Tokalau. The men of the village collected sweet yams from their gardens and took them to the chief of crops, who examined them. After they had been steamed in the clan earth ovens, the chief of crops presented them to the chief of Kambara and the village headman jointly. Afterwards the food was divided and eaten by the village.

On Mothe an annual offering of first fruits is held for breadfruit and Tahitian chestnuts, and an offering of garden products for yams, sweet potatoes, and sweet yams. The offering was formerly presented to the priest, but now it goes to the chief of Mothe. From each clump of banana trees the uppermost ring of the first bunch of the season is given annually to the chief. Each season the first cluster of fruit from each *ndawa* tree goes to the chief. He also receives all turtles, all *ndonu* and all *sangga* fish caught by the Mothe people.

On Namuka the last offering was held several years ago. They stopped the tabu because they had plenty of food.

### KAVA CEREMONY

796 272 Kava drinking is part of all important ceremonials. It is indispensable in rites connected with the chief—his death, marriage, circumcision; the reception of a visiting chief; and the building of a chief's house or canoe. It always precedes a feast (*mangitchi*).

[574] Kava root is a valuable object of ceremonial exchange. It is in great demand, for kava is scarce on the southern islands where it is rarely planted and must be imported from other parts of Fiji. When a stranger arrives in a village he presents ceremonially a whole fresh kava root to the hosts. Dry kava roots are substituted when the green plant is not available. Kava is never prepared and drunk without ceremony, which is elaborate in the

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Concerning food gathering in the past, Moto, an old man of the Matasoata clan in Undu, gave the following information:

When I was a boy we always gathered our food. Men, women, and children gathered fruits and nuts, and the women and children gathered leaves. Our everyday food was the *wangiri* nut. It grows on a vine in the bush. The black, shelled nuts were roasted and eaten right in the bush. If we had some nuts left after satisfying our appetites, we took them home in a basket of coconut leaves and sank the basket into salt water to make fermented food (*mandrai*), as we do now with manioc or breadfruit.

When I was a boy about the size of Nggauna [who was fifteen] we had no real garden land on Kambara. Where the gardens are on Ndelaioloi near Tokalau, trees were growing, mainly the Tahitian chestnut and the *ndawa*. We had no manioc except *manioka ni India*, which was poisonous, and the poison had to be extracted before it could be eaten. We had the white and red sweet potato; the brownish ones came later. When I was a boy we did not have as many sweet potatoes as we have today. We planted very small patches only, usually among the trees where the bush did not grow too thickly. Gradually the fruit trees on Ndelaioloi died away and the land was used for gardens. We had no real yams, only the sweet yam (*kawai*) and the *kaile* and a very few wild yam (*tchivoli*). We planted wild yam and *kaile* only in the bush where we found them growing wild. We did not need to search for wild yam because we knew where they grew and also knew to whom they belonged. Sometimes we planted from three to four sweet yam plants together. We dug no real holes and never made mounds as we do today.

## Fishing

The waters surrounding the islands of Lau are rich in fish. On clear days, as one passes by canoe over the colorful lagoons, large schools can be seen moving over the white bottom and slowly drawing around the coral limestone formations, which stretch under the water like colored hills and valleys.

Fishing techniques differ on the various islands, due to the character of the coast, the lagoon, and the reef; to the depth and clearness of water; to the currents; and to the kind of fish prevalent in the vicinity.

Women catch most of the daily supply of fish in nets. Only when fishing becomes a sport, as in spearing, or when it is connected with a ceremony, as in communal fishing, do men participate. The master fisherman has charge of communal fishing and the fishing grounds (p. 51). There is less organized fishing today than there was in the past. Usually fishing is done by small groups, who disturb the fish so that actually fewer and smaller ones are now caught. The master fisherman of Kambara says that if the people do not ask permission before they go fishing they do not make a good catch.

### Fishing with Nets

**Tatanga.** The *tatanga* is a rectangular net not quite one fathom wide and about one fathom long. It is spread out by two sticks, 3 to 4 cm. in diameter, one attached to each short side of the net. Three to six women blacken their faces with ashes, especially the region around the eyes, as a protection from sun. Each woman takes a *tatanga* net, rolls it around two sticks, and carries it on her shoulder or in her hand. On Kambara the women use diving goggles, called *suzimarini* (submarine), which are said to have been introduced about ten years ago. The nets are unfolded on the beach. Women prefer

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to use the nets in water which is about neck high. One stick is held in either hand, the net is open, and the woman walks or dog paddles, watching the water. Suddenly she dives and makes a clever twist with the net. The fisherwoman comes to the surface, empties the net, kills the fish by biting its head, and puts it into the fish basket which is either tied to her waist or is standing on a rock nearby. If she is near the beach where the children are watching the fishing, she throws the fish onto the sand for them to kill. Frequently the children enter the water also and, while swimming toward the women, try to chase the fish into the nets by beating the surface. The *tatanga* is difficult work. For hours the women work in the glare of the sun and in the often cold salt water. The women say that when no protecting glasses were known the work was more difficult.

On Kambara the daily supply of fish is caught by the *tatanga* method. If one fisherwoman has no success and another has a good catch, it is divided, but as a rule the *tatanga* method is used for household fishing, and the catch is not shared. When used on Fulanga the *tatanga* method is called *suvimarini*. When the *tatanga* net (called *tavilaki* on Mothe) is used on Mothe, eye glasses are not worn as on Kambara and Fulanga, but the water is beaten and the fish are driven into the coral formations. Girls with their nets close in on them.

**Vono.** The *tatanga* net is also used by women in fishing by the *vono* method. When the tide starts to ebb they move with the net and a stick, sometimes a one-pronged spear, toward the reef. While the water is rushing over the reef toward the sea, narrow brook-like passages are closed off with a net. Three or more nets close larger passages, where the water is not too deep nor the current too strong. Clear sunshine and calm weather are needed, so that the fish may be seen. The women hold the net against the current only when a school of fish is approaching. The *vono* method often brings big fish into the net, and they are either beaten with a stick on the head or speared.

**Volavola.** In the *volavola* method a net is used to close the exit to a passage running through a rock formation. Some of the women go into the passage or onto the surrounding rocks and beat the water to chase the fish into the net.

**Rarau.** Women also use nets (*rarau*) about one fathom long to block caves and holes in the coral. The ends of the net are hooked to pointed rocks. The fish that do not enter the net are speared with a one-pronged spear.

**Songo matana.** At high tide a large net or many small ones are tied to roots of mangroves to enclose a part of the mangrove-growing waters. When the tide falls the retreating fish enter the nets. The *songo matana* method (literally, close the faces) is usually used by women, but men occasionally participate.

**Mbekambeka.** Parts of the mangrove-growing waters are fenced during low tide with mats of plaited coconut leaves (*mbekambeka*) by men and women. The fisher folk hold them until the water falls, then catch the fish by hand or spear them.

**Lawa vuevue.** The *lawa vuevue* (*lawa*, net; *vuevue*, beating) method is used at low tide, near the beach or reef in day time. The net used is rectangular, about 3 fathoms long and 1.5 fathoms wide. It is extended, like the *tatanga* net, by means of two sticks, one attached to either short side, and each stick is held by a woman. About four pairs of women bring their nets close together so that no fish may escape between them. Another group of women and children, about 70 meters from and opposite the net carriers, beat the water and move forward, chasing the fish toward the nets. This process is repeated often. The catch is divided evenly among the participating households. An old woman and her assistant sort and divide the fish.

**Yathi.** The *tatanga* nets are also used by women on Kambara to catch mullet (*kanathe*) at night by the *yathi* method. Silently three or more women walk along the beach at low tide, when the fish often come right to the edge of the shore, and listen for the well known splash of mullet. As soon as the splashing of a school is heard the women

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step into the water, open their *tatanga* nets and surround the school so that the fish are caught in the nets. 226

**Yaviraŭ.** A *yaviraŭ* (*yavi*, hauling; *raŭ*, string or rope) is a communal fishing expedition on special occasions such as the death or marriage of a prominent man.

Toward the end of December I witnessed a *yaviraŭ* held by the villages of Lomatchi and Tokalau. A few prominent men of Tokalau and Lomatchi went to the master fisherman, ceremonially presented kava to him, and explained that the community wished to have a *yaviraŭ* so that there might be plenty of fish for a feast on New Year's Day. They asked that he tell them when and where to fish. The master fisherman folded his hands and sank his head; looking at the floor, he cleared his throat, and replied, "Vinaka sara" (Very well). He fixed December 28 as the great day and selected the Lomatchi fishing grounds as the place. The supplicants thanked him, sat together for a while, and then left to report to their people.

On the appointed day one group of young men went into the bush to cut *walai* (*Entada phaseoloides*) and *tuva* vines which grow to a length of over 100 meters and are about 0.5 cm. in diameter. Meanwhile another group of men was busy with cane knives, cutting green branches of coconut. The branches were piled near the beach with the *walai* and *tuva* vines. With their teeth, a sharp shell, or a cane knife the men split the sides of the branches from the midrib slightly, took hold of the sides with their fingers and then, suddenly opening their arms, stripped them with the adhering leaflets from the midrib. While some men or boys were holding the vines, others wound the coconut foliage adhering to the strip spirally around the vines so that the leaves stuck out like long barbs. Women did not participate in this work. Whenever they were invited to, they laughed and joked, and continued to blacken their faces with ashes in spite of the fact the sky was gray most of the day. 824

Finally the spiked strings were rolled into two coils, each about 400 meters long, and placed on a canoe. The crowd was excited, for the tide had begun to ebb. Quickly the canoe was pushed off. Two men, standing on the beach, held one end of the string and, as the canoe was poled toward the reef, the first coil unwound. The second coil was tied to the end of the first and then the canoe moved forward again. Having reached the reef, one man stepped off and held the string. The canoe turned to the right, poled parallel to the reef, and stopped as the last meter of coil unwound. In the meantime men and women on canoes had divided in the lagoon. Women and boys jumped into the water, which was falling rapidly, and held the line so that it might not catch a rock. The line was used to frighten the fish into one corner of the lagoon. The men on the beach started moving forward and gradually the whole line from the beach to the reef moved. Those on the ends were pulling ahead, the others were moving slowly so that the line became semicircular. The people in the water either walked over coral or swam in deep water. The people on the reef end moved toward the beach so that the string began to describe the outline of a horseshoe, the opening toward the beach. Men on canoes followed and admonished the crowd to hold the line deep enough so that schools of fish might not pass below it. The men on the beach stopped. Those holding the end in the water moved toward the beach and finally stepped onto the sand about 40 meters from them. Near the beach the water was shallow, and the encircled fish became nervous. The spiral string drew together around them as they tried to escape. Men and women beat the water, jumped and approached the beach. About 15 meters from the sand the string was cut in two places and married women quickly blocked the openings with nets. At the same time a man held up his spear and looked at the master fisherman who excitedly yelled, "Vinaka" (Very well)! Men and boys threw their spears at the captive fish. Little boys, who tried themselves for the first time, yelled and screamed with enthusiasm.

A stick was shoved through the meshes of each net and thus the full nets were carried onto the beach. The speared fish were spread there also. The women killed those from the nets by biting them on the head. Large ones were struck by the boys with a stick or the back of a cane knife. The fish were sorted according to size and divided

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226 between the villages in proportion to population, and each village share was divided between clans.

The catch of about 100 fish weighed about 250 pounds, but a catch of about 800 pounds had been expected. The master fisherman told me that a pregnant woman had participated and that a woman during the first hundred days of pregnancy would spoil any net fishing. (The *yaviraw* is considered to be a net.) He added that the population had not been respecting the master fisherman in their daily fishing and the consequence was a shortage of fish. While the first reason was recognized by all and caused talk among the women, the people never mentioned the second reason given by the master fisherman. The chief of Kambara, who had not participated because of his age, said: "If a woman in early pregnancy takes part naturally no good result is possible, but, anyway, today is not a *yaviraw* day. The sky is too dark and dark are the waters, as dark as the coconut leaves. Consequently the fish could not see the spiral and passed through it. Furthermore, the fishing took place in rather shallow waters which are liked by fish on sunny days. Today they are in deeper waters. Therefore perhaps only a few fish were present."

On Fulanga the *yaviraw* method is also used but the *rau* is never pulled toward the beach, always onto the reef.

**Latchi tei.** A coconut-leaf rope (*rau*), shorter than that used for a *yaviraw*, is used by the Fulanga women to catch *tei*, a fish about the size of a mullet. The net is spread just inside the reef where the *tei* are common.

**Tuvatu.** Such a short *rau* is called *tuvatu* on Mothe where it is placed around a rock formation below the surface of the water during high tide. When the tide falls the fish are frightened by the moving coconut-leaf spiral and stay in pools around the rocks. At low tide the fish are procured by the poisoning method (pp. 134-135).

**Lawa ni yavi.** The *lawa ni yavi* (drag net) technique is a communal fishing method used occasionally by women only during the day. The net is about 100 meters long and 3.5 meters deep. It is used only during low or ebbing tide in sections with a white sandy bottom near the beach. A few women take one end of the net and haul it into the water. Others stand on the beach and hold the other end. The rest of the participants place themselves all along the net, holding it under water, and gradually move forward. Those standing on the beach remain stationary. Thus the line describes a semicircle around the women on the beach. Girls, boys, and children beat the water in front of the net so that the fish are frightened back toward the fishers. As the fisher line approaches the beach the women skillfully catch many fish about to escape underneath the net.

I witnessed a *lawa ni yavi* at Ndaku, Kambara. When the net had been hauled to the beach, the master fisherman appeared. The net was carried to a grassy spot beneath the coconut trees and emptied of about 200 fish. The whole process took six minutes. The master fisherman and his wife knelt near the pile of fish, sorted them according to size, and put them into piles of 12. Then the master fisherman took one fish from each pile for each clan until none was left, and each clan received an equal share.

**Sau kanathe.** Men and women fish together for mullet, using the *sau kanathe* method. A net about 35 fathoms wide is taken to a place in the lagoon, preferably 4 to 5 feet deep. The ends of the net are held by men and the women line up along the net, which is put out in horseshoe formation. The men start to pull, the women follow and hold the net in proper position. The men on the ends either proceed toward the beach or, if the net is closed in the water, it is carried by a canoe to the beach, where the catch is divided.

**Hose.** *Hose* is a finger long fish, reddish in color, found in schools of thousands in the Fulanga lagoons. The women take a small meshed net about 100 meters long into the lagoon where the bottom consists of small coral. There the net is opened and gradually dragged toward shallow water near the beach or toward one of the little islands.

**Vutu.** The *vutu* method is used by women and children on moonlight nights. They pole out to the reef, and a few people, especially children, climb upon a rock. Others with a *lawa ni yavi* net encircle the rock, while those on top start bumping and jump-

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ing to chase the hiding fish into the open water where the net is waiting. When the fish have been put into baskets, the fishing party moves to another rock. The *vutu* method is used quite frequently on Kambara. 226

**Nggoli mbongi.** For night fishing (*nggoli mbongi*) on Fulanga women take a net about 50 meters wide into the lagoon, open it, and silently approach the beach.

### FISHING WITH SPEARS

The men of Fulanga are known in Lau as expert spearmen. The people of Muanaira and Muanaithake admit that the men of Naivindamu are the most skillful. The formation of the lagoon, daily canoeing, and abundance of fish offer them an opportunity to perfect themselves in this sport. A Fulanga man never forgets to take his spear when he crosses the lagoon and there are always spears lying on outrigger canoes. Naivindamu's fishing grounds cover the finest part of the lagoon which lies beside the village. Boys at the age of six or seven learn to spear. They usually start by spearing mullet. [868]

The men of Kambara are also enthusiastic and skillful spearmen.

**Tumata.** A man, preparing to go *tumata* spearing, blackens his face with ash dust. Usually he carries on his shoulder two spears, one with especially strong prongs. A spear is about 3 to 3.5 fathoms long, and has not less than two and not more than four prongs. He shoves the prongs of his spear several times through the cleansing beach sand to take off the rust, then slowly steps into the water, and follows the retreating waves toward the reef. He stands on the reef where a rock projects from the water and turns his back toward the sea, handles the spears as if they were new to his hands, and hesitates a moment before taking the heavy pronged or light one. He knows which spear to use first because he has been given a sign in a dream. He takes his stand, his arm with the spear ready to thrust, and may stand thus for hours. The spear is not thrown but is used to stab the fish. The *tumata* method is used for heavy fish. Fish under about six pounds are speared only by young boys with small spears. *Tumata* is considered a sport. Several men on Kambara neglect their garden land to spear fish, and the people occasionally whisper about them and call them "no good." On Fulanga this method is called *tutomba* (literally, standing on a rock). [302]

**Thothoka.** The *thothoka* method is used with spears of from two to six prongs. On a clear day at either low or high tide the spearman walks along the beach and the reef. If a fish is close he thrusts, if far away he throws the spear.

**Ndewa.** *Ndewa* (reef walking) is done with spears at low tide. The spearman turns his back toward the coast and walks along the outermost edge of the reef, watching the open sea. He hurls the spear at a fish but does not throw farther than 10 meters, for to recover it from a greater distance is to risk encountering sharks. A strong, three-pronged spear is used because only the large fish are speared.

**Vaka na sambi (spearing on the reef).** While the tide is rising men walk the reef, watch the fish crossing from the ocean into the lagoon, and spear them at the spots where the fish must for a moment slow down in shallow water.

**Kakara.** Spearing at high tide inside the reef (*kakara*) is considered the greatest fishing sport on Fulanga. Two men pole a canoe to the reef at high tide. At the reef the man standing in the stern poles while the one in the bow looks for and spears fish.

**Kanathe (mullet).** When the moon waxes or wanes, spearmen walk along the beach at low tide. The moonlight blinds the fish but aids the men to see. A smooth sandy region is preferred. The deserted islet of Wangava offers fine stretches for mullet spearing, and the Kambara men go there to fish for them.

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226 **Thina.** *Thina* is the Lauan word for lamp, lantern, torch. Men or women or men and women torch fish (*tuna*) together at night. Each takes at least one coconut spathe, splits one end of it several times, so that it will catch fire readily and quickly throw a light flame. At the spot on the beach where the fishing is to start, the spathes are lighted with a glowing coconut husk or stick. The torches are held over the water by members of the party who walk slowly ahead of the others. The fish are usually speared or clubbed.

**Vaka a samu (the beating fashion).** A fish, tied to a short line which is fastened to a stick, is beaten on the water to serve as a lure. The fish are stabbed with a one-pronged spear (*sakathukathu*), which is a sharp pointed shaft of wood.

**Tauyara.** By the *tauyara* (to lure with an equal) method, a fish is stuck onto one prong of a spear or tied to the shaft, with a string. The spear is moved so that the bait is kept under water to lure a fish close enough to be stabbed.

### FISHING WITH HOOK AND LINE

Fishing with hook and line is called *siwa*. This method is used frequently on Namuka, Mothe, and Fulanga by men and women either during the day or night, preferably at sandy spots where the hook will not catch. A small fish, a crab, or a slug is bait.

For fishing from the beach a line 50 meters long is used. The loosely rolled coil is thrown by one hand and an end of line held in the other. At intervals the fisherman calls: "Tale mai, tale mai, tale mai" (Come here, come here, come here). In canoe trolling the method is the same, but a shorter line is used. Sometimes the canoe is anchored and the line is weighted. When fishing from a rock the man or woman throws the line out or weights it with a stone so that it sinks vertically.

The fishhook used in Lau today is imported. The natives agree that the fishhooks formerly used were of wood and bone but no one was able to describe them.

### FISH STUPIFYING

226 278 **Samulaki.** The afternoon before *samulaki* fishing on Kambara a few people go to the bush to gather a vine called *tuva*. Old branches are taken because their poison is strong. In the evening the branches are beaten with a rock until the juice begins to ooze. Before sunrise the next morning, and at low tide when the fish have not yet left the coral formations, women go to the reef. A small handful of the beaten twigs is tied into a bundle and splashed on the water so that the poisonous juice mixes with the water and enters the coral caves. Several coral formations are poisoned on the same morning, and by daybreak the fish are drifting unconscious on the surface. Any prevented by the coral from coming to the surface are speared.

A similar method, called *tuva*, is used on Fulanga. The bark of the *tuva* is cut into pieces and pounded on a stone with a beating stick. Then the bark is ripped into strips, which are tied in small bundles and taken by canoe to the reef. The girls dive around the coral formations and, if many fish are detected, the basket containing the bundles is lowered into the water. The wet bark is beaten again so that the sap oozes readily. Each girl takes a bundle, dives, places it between the rocks until all the main holes and narrow passages contain the poison. The fish which rise to the surface are picked by hand or speared. On Fulanga this method of fish stupifying is usually used by a household, sometimes by a village.

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**Tuva ni nikini.** On Kambara the roots of the *tuva ni nikini* (New Guinea *tuva*) are taken by men, women, or children to the reef. The people dive near the reef to chase the fish into the cavities of the coral formation. Then someone, usually a girl but never a man, puts on protecting glasses, dives, and circles the rock to see whether or not the fish have fled into the holes. After the root is beaten into dust with a piece of hard wood about 30 to 40 cm. long and 5 to 7 cm. in diameter, women dive with handfuls of the powder and squeeze them under water. After about 15 minutes the fish come to the surface, apparently dead or stupified, but most fish caught this way die after about five minutes of play. Heavy, strong fish are hit on the head with a stick or with the back of a cane knife.

On Fulanga the powdered root is placed in a medicine bag made of coconut reticulum and taken to the reef. If the fisherwomen see fish, the bag is taken into the water and squeezed between the rocks. The method is used only during the day.

**Tuva kalou.** On Namuka, *tuva kalou* fruit is steamed in the earth oven, then put into a basket which is placed in the hull of a canoe partly filled with water. The basket is pressed against the hull or worked with sticks so that the fruit juice mixes with the water. When three or four bailers of this mixture are poured around a rock formation, it sinks slowly and is worked into the caves by the current. When the drugged fish appear on the surface they are caught by hand or stabbed, then put into baskets.

**Sosolo or soli.** *Soli*, a black slug about 30 cm. long and 4 to 5 cm. in diameter, which is found in masses near Namuka, is used for stupifying fish. The slugs are put into a basket, covered with sand, and trampled so that the juice and the odor of the slugs are absorbed by the sand. The basket is tied to a string and let down from a canoe into the water of the lagoon. It is said that the odor and the slight change in the color of the water attract and stun the fish causing them to rise to the surface in two or three minutes. They are gathered by hand. The same basket of slugs may be used several times.

**Soto.** On Mothe *soto* leaves are crushed with a cane knife or shell. During the night, at low tide when the water is calm, the leaves are placed in coral holes to stun the fish.

### FISH TRAPPING

**Toni kana.** The fish trap (*ndoi ni ika*) used in the *toni kana* method, is a circular basket, up to 1 fathom in diameter and up to 40 cm. deep. The fish enter a funnel-shaped entrance on top. Usually the trap is set by a diver who preferably puts it onto a smooth place. A sea slug or a large crab, which has been opened to cause a stronger odor, serves as bait and is tied with a string either to the trap or to stone weights inside the trap. Occasionally the trap is hooked to a stick, tied onto the end of a string and weighted with a stone. It is lowered and raised by the hook and string.

**Va katu ku tuku.** From the circumference of the round trap described above are run three strings, which are tied together from 0.5 to 1 meter above the stone-weighted trap. At the upper end of the string is tied a floating stick 1 to 2 meters long so that the trap can easily be located and pulled out of the water.

**Lasia.** A diver places the above described trap and puts stones around it which touch the lower edge of the trap so that the current cannot move it easily. This kind of trap setting is done most frequently in calm waters.

### FISHPONDS

Of the six islands visited fishponds were used only on Mothe. This island has six fishponds which resemble horseshoes in shape, the open end bordered by the beach. The stone walls (*moka*), which are about 0.5 meter high, are made from the black basalt with which the beach is strewn. This stone is smooth and heavy, and the walls are not easily destroyed by the surf. High tide brings the fish over the walls, where they are speared or gathered.

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226 In deeper pools they are poisoned. So that the waters will not be depleted the fish from the ponds are used only for special occasions, such as birth and death feasts, and installations.

Mothe has two creeks, each about 5 meters wide. Formerly, Mothe people caught many fish at the mouths of these creeks which empty into the lagoon, but they do not use this method today. At high tide the mouths of the creeks are deepened by sea water which brings the fish into the otherwise shallow creeks. The mouths are easily closed to hold the fish when the water has retreated. Other fish gather outside the wall and are speared during high tide.

### SHELL FISHING

[262] Shell fishing is common on Fulanga where the floor of the lagoon seems paved with shellfish, which Fulangans seem to prefer to other fish. Daily the women are seen diving for shellfish. It is hard labor, requiring deep and long diving. Their faces blackened with soot, and equipped with a pointed, hard wood stick about 30 cm. long, women separate in the lagoon and swim about slowly. Before a woman dives, she breathes deeply, and under water she looks through her protecting glasses for shells adhering to the rocks. She [483] pries them off the rock with the stick and puts them into a basket tied around her waist. She stays under water two or three minutes.

A bivalve shellfish, called *kekewa*, is found only on the northwest side of Wangava lake at the entrance to a cave called Nggaranikekewa. It is a delicacy gladly accepted all over Lau in exchange for other produce. *Kekewa* fishing is done only by women at low tide.

### MBALOLO

A sea worm (*Nereis*), living at the bottom of parts of the reef in Lau, periodically frees reproductive segments (*mbalolo*), greenish in color, about 15 cm. long and not thicker than 3 mm. Once during November the lagoon is filled with the *mbalolo*, while in October fewer usually appear. Hence October is called *vulai mbalolo lailai* (moon of few *mbalolo*) and November *vulai mbalolo levu* (moon of many *mbalolo*). As soon as someone discovers them he calls, "Mbalolo, mbalolo!" The village grows excited and men, women, and children run into the lagoon to drag baskets through the water. *Mbalolo* is either baked or boiled and served at a village feast.

### LOBSTERS

In the lagoon near Marambo Island, which belongs to Undu, lobsters (*ura ni wai tui*) are picked out of the holes and shallow places at low tide.

### SQUID LURING

The squid lure (*taukuita*), which is used only on Mothe, is similar in type to that of Samoa (described by Buck, 2, pp. 434-437).

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136 all the shellfish in a basket, which he took to Kambara and
773 presented to the god. Meanwhile the Kambara god gleefully had gathered all the mosquitoes on the island in a basket, which he gave in return for the shellfish. Only when the god of Oneata opened the basket on his own island and the swarm of mosquitoes began to bite did he realize that he had been tricked. Since that time Oneata has had mosquitoes and the people of Kambara have had the shellfish.

132 The rainy months constitute the main growing season in
241 Lau, and from December to April the harvest is gathered. Yams and taro, the staples of Fiji, do not grow on the famine
[177] isles, but tapioca, which has become the staple of the southern islands since its introduction from South America in recent times, may be cut or planted at any time of the year. Hence it conveniently supplements the seasonal crops such as sweet potato, breadfruit, Tahitian chestnut (*Inocarpus edulis*) and other tropical fruits, and provides a source of food between harvests.

136 Compensating for poor garden lands, the limestone islands
226 have calm, shallow, reef-fringed lagoons which shelter fisherfolk and their small canoes from the open sea. So plentiful is the supply of fish and shellfish in the lagoons that practically no deep sea fishing is attempted, although barracuda and other large sea fish are plentiful in Lauan waters.

225 The large sea turtle, which grows to a weight of over two
262 hundred pounds in Lau, is considered the greatest sea delicacy. No one who has chased this darting prey the length of a lagoon with a group of canoes can forget the thrill of a turtle hunt. It is one of the greatest sports in Lau. Inasmuch as turtle is food for chiefs and nobles, turtle hunting, breeding, netting, and preparation are protected by special tabus and
262 rites, and the flesh is eaten only at feasts. Pigs, the only large
231 mammals in the group, are also relished. They are of the gawky, South Sea type with funny long legs and razor backs, but of excellent flavor when steamed in the earth oven.

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624 241 made, however, part of it might be set aside by the chief or the "chief of crops" to be preserved, according to the native method of burial in a leaf-lined pit. This reserve food would be used only in case of need by the whole community. In the same way, when an inter-island communal exchange is held, part of the food acquired by a famine island might also be set aside and stored. It might be possible to put the hereditary "chief of crops" in charge of the preservation of the island resources, and thus strengthen a native hereditary office which still survives but has recently lost most of its former functions and prestige.

624 226 Another such office which might prove of value if reinforced politically is that of the master fisherman (*ndau ni nggoli*). The natives complain that since the master fisherman has lost much of his former power to supervise the fishing of the island, the catch has dwindled. Fewer fish are caught daily because the fishing grounds are constantly disturbed by small fisher groups, and there are fewer large communal expeditions. If the master fisherman were backed by the government he could systematically supervise the fishing of the island. This would not only increase the food supply but also add zest to life because the natives love a large communal fishing expedition or a turtle hunt.

137 An important source of food which the natives tend to neglect today is collecting in the jungle. Bush food such as the *wangiri* and the *yangai*, which were formerly staples and are now ignored, could be utilized more than they are. *Yangai* sweetened with the *ti* root makes a particularly delicious sweet pudding. Moreover, most islands could accommodate more fruit trees such as breadfruit, Tahitian chestnut and *ndawa* (*Ponetia pinnata*), which are important as food, and since a fruit tree belongs to the man who plants it there would be no difficulty concerning proprietary rights over the fruit. Certainly there are many spots in the jungle where wild yams, also a delicious and nutritious jungle food, would

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officer newly created by British regulation. Consequently the crop custodian, although continuing to function in a limited way on all the inhabited islands of the community (except Namuka where the crops abundantly cover the needs of the population), has lost considerable authority and prestige. The number of fruit and garden crops placed under tabu for first fruits presentation has decreased in number, at least part of each crop being consumed before it has fully matured, especially on the limestone islands. Food is rarely stored against time of famine, and in general the crops are smaller in size than formerly and less valuable from the viewpoint of nutrition.

As part of the production and distribution system mentioned above, each inhabited island also had a master fisherman (called *ndau ni nggoli*), who had charge of all the island's fishing grounds, communal fishing expeditions and turtle hunts. The office of master fisherman is held by a clan belonging to the noble class, except on islands where that class is absent. The traditional role of the *ndau ni nggoli* was to master the fish lore and fishing techniques of the island and to study the habits of various edible species of marine life in relation to the local fishing grounds, the tide and currents, the weather, the lunar cycle, the seasons, and the presence of noxious plants which render edible species poisonous to man. Although men and women caught fish offshore singly or in groups of two or three by means of nets, lines, and spears for their daily household needs without special permission from the master fisherman, they observed his regulation of the fishing grounds and no large, organized fishing expeditions took place without his sanction. Indeed, the master fisherman himself organized and led all communal turtle hunts and most large fishing parties. Women's communal fishing was led by the wife or daughter of the *ndau ni nggoli*.

The institution of the master fisherman functioned to increase the total catch by protecting the local fishing grounds from over-fishing and undue disturbance, and by taking advantage of the various group-fishing techniques in relation to the weather, the seasons, and the habits of various edible species. In a community where fishing provided the major protein constituent in the daily diet and an indispensable part of every feast, this institution operated as a public health measure of prime importance in creating and maintaining a balanced relation between the community and its marine food supply. The traditional functions of this institution and its ecological significance are clarified by the fact that, although the prestige and authority of the master fisherman have not been reinforced by the British and consequently this native official has lost status, he still operates unofficially to a limited extent on every inhabited island in the community. As a result of his lowered status and decreased power, however, informants say that the fishing grounds of the various islands are more disturbed than formerly, that there are fewer organized fishing expeditions, and that the catches are smaller than they used to be.

# [FULANGA I]

312 Water is available only at the villages where rainwater is caught and stored in cement tanks.

13 The limestone hills are thickly covered with the usual lowland forest. The flats on both sides support extensive groves of coconut palms and cultivated areas. Mangrove thickets border the S.W. side of the lagoon.

The animals include birds, rats, lizards and probably snakes, although none of the latter were seen, except the banded water snake.
[731] The natives have domestic fowls, pigs and dogs. Mosquitoes present.

361 There are three small villages on Fulanga. Muanaithake
[161] and Muanaira are close together on the south ocean side. The former has a population of about 200, living in 40 houses; the latter is much smaller, about a dozen houses and 40 inhabitants. Naividamu is situated on the N.W. arm, on the lagoon side. It has a population
487 of 64, living in a dozen huts. The three villages are connected by a good path.

181 The people appear prosperous and fairly industrious. The women
462 catch fish and dive for shell fish and oysters within the lagoon. The
● [226] men do the reef fishing and cultivate the fields. Canoe making and
241 some carving is done, and the women weave mats and beat out masi (tapa).
[321]
[285] Some little copra is cut and shipped and the usual crops of sweet
[287] potatoes, yams, manioc and bananas are grown, the latter for local
295 consumption only.
241

[p. 16]

13 6. MOTHE is a moderate size volcanic island, 18 miles north of the Yangasa cluster and 12 miles N.E. of Nammka-i-Lau. The barrier reef which surrounds it stretches 7 miles to the south-west in a sweeping horn called Napotu, and also encloses a small limestone island, Karoni.

Mothe is 2 1/4 by 2 miles, with smooth, brown, grassy slopes rising to 590 feet in a tree capped peak, Dilli Na Kotu. These slopes are cut by several deep valleys, in which flow small streams of murky water. The beach and valley bottoms are lined with littoral and lowland trees and groves of coconut palms. Much of the beach is sandy. There is a wide, flat reef fringing the south and east sides.

Small cutters can enter the lagoon by a passage near the middle of the east side, east by north from Karoni. For larger vessels there is good anchorage (called Na Kuku) off the N.W. end of Mothe (outside the reef).

Besides the grass there is considerable scrub, ferns, and scattered Pandanus and Casuarina trees on the hills. The summit forest tuft consists of lowland trees only, which have worked up the valleys.

Animals, other than birds, include rats, lizards and banded water snakes.

361 There are two villages: Nasau, the larger, on the south point, and Leva or Na Koro a scant half mile up the east coast in a small bay. Both are surrounded by extensive groves of coconut palms.

226 There is much fishing, a little cultivation, and some masi beating
241 and mat weaving. Pigs and fowl are raised.
280
285
231

13 Karoni is 2 1/4 miles south south-east from the south point of Mothe. It is a typical rough limestone island, supporting a thick growth of trees. The main island is sub-circular, but a number of small islets complete the circle. The east and south sides

13 g. KOMO is a small island of volcanic origin lying 9 miles north of Namuka-i-Lau and 6 miles west by south of Mothe. (S.18° 41', 178° 39' W.). It is sub-crescent shaped, 1 1/2 miles long by 3/8 mile wide. On the north a ridge rises to an elevation of 270 feet from the sea, with moderately steep slopes; covered with grass, scrub, Pandanus and Casuarina trees. The summit is crowned by a small patch of cocoanut palms. The south side and west end are flat with cultivated areas and small groves of cocoanut palms.

Komo Ndriti, a small, rough, wooded islet of upraised coral limestone, lies a half mile off the west point.

A barrier reef encloses these islands on three sides, the northwest being open except for coral heads and a few small patches of reef. Here there are two good ship passages, 320 and 550 yards wide.

312 Although there are one or two small murky streamlets, rainwater is caught and stored in the village for drinking purposes.

13 Birds, lizards, rats and hermit crabs are the only wild land animals. Insects not very abundant and landshells scarce.

361 The village is located on the S.E. side, and consists of about 25
[161] houses. The natives, about 140 in number, are great fishermen, the
226 women using hand nets and basket traps, plated from beach vine, near
227 shore, while the men fish on the reef. They raise a few domesticated
462 pigs, fowl and dogs. Some little cultivation is done, especially of
231 sweet potatoes.
241

[p. 31]

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*539 776 across the beach, and at once he decided to bury himself as the *kaikis* do in the sand; for here, surely, thought he, these evil-minded chiefs will never find me.

"So that evening he buried himself deep in the sand, leaving only a small hole, like the tunnel of a *kaiki*, for his nose to breathe through. And when the night came, great was the searching of the demons for Tui Liku; and they were just giving up when their leader said, 'Well, friends, how would it be to catch some *kaiki* for our *bulasi* (midnight snack)."

Here, I am afraid, I rather rudely interrupted the old gentleman to ask him how Tui Liku understood what they said, and why they used the expression *bulasi* instead of *bulago*.

"Have I not said, sir," he replied, "that Tui Liku was a wise man? I expect he had learnt their talk by this time. And, another [197] thing, were they not demons of Lau? Why, then, should they use the language of Bau?"[1]

Properly silenced by this, I asked him to proceed. He settled himself back again and continued.

"So they searched up and down the beach, [226] prodding the sand with sticks to find the *kaiki* tunnels, as is the custom when we seek *kaiki* for fish-bait. At last the leader came to where Tui

[1] Bau is the "Parisian" dialect of the Colony, and the old man had hitherto been telling his tale in it.

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when he is about. You know the light *kato* (palm-leaf baskets) that are often thrown away empty about the town. 'Ulupoka' delights to climb into these, and sometimes when there is not a breath of wind one may see a basket suddenly go rolling along across the grass. Then we know that 'Ulupoka' has got into it."

The others all nodded their heads in acquiescence, and murmured "*Sa dina*" ('tis true).

### THE FISHING OF THE SACRED "YAWA."

On another night we were speaking of fishing, and of the best-flavoured fish; for when one gets down to the primitive life one's thoughts turn naturally to food, and I was no exception, for there was not much else to talk about.

"The *saqa* is good, and the *kanacé* is good, but the *nuqa* is sweetest of all," said the native magistrate, a noted fisherman, who was sitting next to me.

"True are your words, sir," said a Doi man, sitting opposite; "but I think you cannot have tasted the *yawa*, the great fresh-water fish of Vanua Balavu."

"No. What is that, Rusiate?" replied the native magistrate.

"It is the sweetest fish in all the world, sir," replied Rusiate; "but it is sacred to the people of

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115 226 Mavana, and 'tis only fished about once in three years."

[778] "Tell me all about it," I said, scenting a good tale.

Then Rusiate turned to me and began.

"My mother is of Mavana town, so that I count with Vanua Balavu, and, indeed, have only lately come back here to live at Doi, my father's land. And I am of the *mataqali* (tribe) 226 that catch the sacred fish. And the catching 796 of it is thus. When it appears to the priest (that is, of course, to the descendant of the old priests, for there are no heathen priests to-day," he added, hastily) "that the time has arrived for the fishing, he goes to inform Tui Mavana, who is the great chief of all the northern half of Vanua Balavu, the long island. And Tui Mavana gathers together his people, and they take their canoes and work round the coast till they arrive at the deep bay of Masomo. There they disembark, and climb up the sloping hill-side, through the woods, till they come to the marsh of the *yawa*. [349] Then a *buré bolabola* (rough arbour or shelter) is put up at the edge of the swamp and the priest [793] retires inside it. The priest to-day is Juta, the son of Eroni." (I was quietly amused at this naïve [276] confession.) "Then *Yaqona* is made, with much ancient ceremony; and after that a *lovo* (oven of heated stones) of food is prepared, and a

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meal taken and the people go to sleep for the night.

"And the next morning at sunrise more *Yaqona* is made, and some is poured out for the god, and then the people wade into the swamp. Now, you must know, sir, that the swamp has no clear water in it, but is a large lake of liquid mud, some forty fathoms in each direction, and in the middle it is very deep. And we are not able to swim in it (I myself was at the fishing last year), but have to take logs of light wood with us to keep us afloat.

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"Then the priest on the bank says '*Ulia*,' and we take narrow staves and stir up the mud; and again he says '*Ulia*,' and once again we stir, and a third time he says '*Ulia*,' and at this the fish begin to jump. And as they leap all the people, men and women, on the banks call out '*Sa uru waqa ni Toga*' (the ship has come from Tonga), and they keep calling this out as the fish come leaping more and more to the surface. Then we catch them easily with small nets, or even with our hands, fine, big fish from two to three feet long; and having killed them we cast them on to the bank. But there is one thing we have always to remember. We may not kill them by biting at the back of their heads, as we kill all other fish, for this is *tabu sara* (strictly forbidden), and we must always twist their heads to kill them.

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Sometimes there are over a hundred fish caught at one fishing; and 'tis indeed wonderful how they live and breathe in that mud. Then the fish are divided out, and half of them go to Tui Mavana and his *mataqali*, and half of them to the priest and his *mataqali*."

"And are these fish found nowhere else?" I asked.

"At Masomo and in Tonga only are they found, sir," was the reply. "And their coming was as follows," he went on. "There was a goddess who lived at Tonga "*dua na Marama rairai vinaka sara dina*" (a lady the most beautiful ever seen), and she fell in love with a god at Laucala, which is, as you know, not in the Lau Islands at all, but at Cakaudrove, in Fiji. And one day she decided to take him a present of the finest fish that could be found in all the world, and that was the *yawa*, the fish that lived at one of her smaller islands at Tonga. So she made a leaf basket and placed five or six fine live fish in it, and flew off on her long journey to Laucala. And on the way the fish began to wriggle about, and presently found a small opening at the bottom of the basket. And then their leader said, 'Come, brothers, help me force open this gap, for perchance we may thus drop into the sea and swim back to Tonga.' So they wriggled and nosed about and pushed at the